

ATLANTIC COAST
MIGRATORY MOVEMENT
OF
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

WAR YEARS

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FOREWORD

Migratory agricultural workers made an outstanding contribution to the war effort by harvesting food crops on the Atlantic Seaboard. Without their contribution, the armed forces, the nation, and the world would have had less to eat.

The Agricultural Extension Service aided these migrants to overcome travel and other difficulties and so to continue their accustomed seasonal visits to areas of need. In the earlier war period, without this assistance, the number of migratory workers decreased so greatly that it was necessary to begin replacing them with foreign workers. In the later war period, with this assistance, the number of migrants increased to the point that it was possible to begin using them to replace foreign workers.

This is a record of this migration in the war years and is in recognition of the national service rendered by these thousands of farm workers and of the assistance rendered them by the many Extension Service employees who were so untiring in their aid.

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MOVEMENT OF MIGRATORY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS ON
THE ATLANTIC COAST DURING THE WAR YEARS

C. W. E. Pittman

CHAPTER I

Impact of War on the Migration

The farms of the nation, during the war years, produced more foods and fibers than ever before. This tremendous production was not attained without a correspondingly tremendous expenditure of man-hours of work. On-farm and neighborhood workers living close enough to the farms to commute between their homes and the fields contributed by far the larger part of this labor. Their greatest efforts, however, were not enough, and it was necessary to develop an extensive program for supplying additional labor from non-local sources. The Agricultural Extension Service was assigned responsibility for securing the fullest utilization of all domestic labor.

During 1943, the government effort was concerned chiefly with securing and utilizing foreign labor, prisoners of war, and domestic workers from unaccustomed sources. These domestic workers included youth, women, and individuals temporarily available from industrial, business, or professional groups, and, several thousand interstate domestic farm workers who were moved between States at government expense.

In this beginning program, the many problems arising and the gratifying results of effort expended obscured a third source of labor historically more important and potentially more promising than any other source except on farm and other local labor.

This third source of labor consists of that very large group of farm workers who move from area to area on their own initiative, or at the invitation of employers, and at their own expense or at the expense of employers. This mobile labor force exhibits both an obscure and a spectacular phase. In its obscure phase it percolates rather than flows. It manifests itself through almost innumerable small movements of workers from homes to jobs too far removed from each other to permit daily commuting. These percolating movements are characterized by dispersion rather than concentration and, therefore, usually escape State and national notice. However, the total number of workers is very large. The spectacular phase flows in well marked channels and is characterized by the concentration of large numbers of workers into small areas. It is too dramatic to escape notice and has long been a matter of national concern. As such, it is considered in this report.

At the time of the inception of the emergency wartime farm labor program, there was hope and some expectation that labor availability based on this third great sector of the agricultural labor front would maintain itself with a minimum of governmental assistance. However, this hope and expectation had largely evaporated by midyear 1943. Evidence of extensive decreases in "self-starting" non-local labor became too general and too emphatic to be disregarded. On the Atlantic Seaboard, workers of this type had thinned to less than one-half of their prewar numbers. All available reports indicated a similar decrease throughout the Nation. Unless this erosion of the labor force could be retarded, there was danger that all the gains resulting from the wartime farm labor program would be insufficient to prevent net losses that would endanger full agricultural production so necessary to a successful war effort.

Beginning in 1944, an intensive effort was launched to check the decrease in the number of migratory workers available on the Atlantic Seaboard. Results were so gratifying that in 1945 this effort was extended to other movements.

This report is an account of the effort of the Extension Service to preserve on the Atlantic Seaboard, during the war years, the existing pattern of free moving labor passing from areas of less need to areas of greater need. All types of workers who were transported at government expense are excluded from the discussion.¹

¹ See also, Pittman, C.W.E., The Atlantic Coast Migratory Movement, - 1944, a report by C.W.E. Pittman published by the Agricultural Extension Service in 1944.

CHAPTER II

Scope of the Movement

The movement of agricultural migrants discussed here involves primarily the States of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and New York; secondarily, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The first nine States are the theater of operation and, to some extent, the source of that extensive movement of agricultural workers that has come to be known as the Atlantic Coast Migration. The last four States are sources from which a very large percentage of the workers in the movement originally came and which are a source of replacement.

If the simile of a river be accepted, as it well may be for some phases of the movement, the origin will be found in a network of tributaries having their sources in all of the southeastern States east of the Mississippi, and south of the Ohio, with the contributions from West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee being very small in comparison with those of other States. If we continue the river figure, we find the tributaries flowing southward into Florida and there coalescing into a main stream that flows northward, receiving additional increments and increasing in volume as it follows its course through Georgia and the Carolinas, losing volume and force as it reaches Virginia and Maryland and finally sinking into the thirsty soil of labor scarcity in Delaware, New Jersey, and New York. Here the usefulness of the simile ends since rivers do not reverse their direction of flow annually and are not, therefore, repetitive. These workers do flow back southward in the fall, most of them returning to Florida and there engaging in winter harvest work. Some return to the original sources in other southeastern States. The excess of workers who join the movement from these southeastern States plus those growing up in the movement over those who leave maintains the flow from year to year.

As has been seen, the geographical scope of the movement is extensive and inclusive of many types of farming areas. So, too, the composition of the movement with respect to the types of workers participating is inclusive of many diverse elements. Practically all the workers are Negroes although there are many whites present in the capacities of recruiters, crew leaders, or contractors. Slightly more than half are men, the remainder being women and children. Most are rural Negroes although some come from the cities and towns. Notable among the latter are those who are employed in the winter by tobacco redrying and stemming plants. Professional migrants and part-time migrants are intermingled, professional migrants being those who devote so many months each year to their migratory employment that they cannot plant and cultivate a crop in any one place, and part-time migrants being those whose migration period is short enough to permit them to grow a crop for themselves or for others. Even though

the Atlantic Coast Migratory Movement, as discussed here, includes in its scope a very diverse type of membership; this report excludes from discussion all workers who were moved at government expense.

CHAPTER III

Nature of the Movement

In its essential aspects, the migration is a flow of underemployed agricultural workers from areas of low employment opportunity to areas of high employment. It is not so much a flight of the shiftless from the monotony of stable living as a search of the purposeful for steady employment. They leave the certainty of unemployment in one area for the hope of employment in another. They are not choosing an unanchored method of life of their own volition, but are following a course to which they are constrained by economic factors over which they have no control.

The path these migrants follow really has no starting point and no end. We ordinarily think of the migration as starting out of Florida in the spring and returning there in the fall. It does do this. It also starts out of North Carolina in early summer and returns there in late spring. It also starts out of New York in early fall and returns there in early summer. Actually the migration is a mobile labor force serving nine States with respect to which no State can assert a clear claim as to exclusive integration into its particular labor force. Convenience of reference explains the designation of "Florida" migrants that is so generally applied.

Organization exists in the movement, the most noticeable characteristic of which is the group or crew system. Basically, the group system rests on the need to divide transportation costs by cooperative action. Groups of workers cohere around an individual who owns a vehicle, which is usually either a passenger automobile or a truck. The truck owner or operator naturally assumes a position of influence, or even of authority, in the crew since he controls transportation. He frequently becomes a group leader or crew boss and negotiates employment for the group. This simple organization around a vehicle and an individual is the germ from which there has developed a more elaborate organization. This fuller development however, is also based on another factor in migration as basic as transportation, namely, finding an negotiating for a job. We can readily visualize this development taking place as a group leader negotiates for work for the group he has brought up the coast with him, perhaps only three or four, who have shared his passenger car. He, as spokesman, interviews an employer who immediately employs the small group and asks for more. An agreement may be worked out that sends the group leader back south to obtain a truck and bring up 30 or 40 more workers. Thus, factors that become operative in employment negotiations transform the individual who was a group leader because of the possession of a passenger car into a group leader because of a relationship to an employer. The next step in the development of a more elaborate

organization comes with the advent of contracting. The more able crew leaders, or as is often the case, enterprising individuals, not themselves farm workers, who see an opportunity to make money, hire workers and enter into contracts with growers to harvest their crops at an agreed price per unit. This operation requires capital. There must be investment in vehicles, recruiting, and advances to workers before returns can be expected. Crew leadership has, in some cases, become business of considerable size.

The crew leader or contractor system is a matter of much concern to many who are interested in the welfare of migratory workers. Generally, however, those who know it best criticize it least vigorously. Whatever else may be true of it, it has come into being as the result of efforts of migrants themselves to solve the twin problems of transportation and job finding. In the main it has been, with all its faults, satisfactory to them. It is open to abuses, and some have crept in, yet its present evils are among the least of those that beset the migration on every hand. When we realize the very great difficulties inherent in bringing together tens of thousands of workers and thousands of employers separated from each other by hundreds of miles, we are inclined to be impressed by the usefulness of the individuals who solve the problems of recruitment, transportation, and placement.

A fairly good idea of how these crews operate can be gotten by reading the description of typical crew operations given in exhibit A.

CHAPTER IV

Areas of Use

During the last quarter of a century, two developments in the agricultural economy of the Atlantic Seaboard have profoundly and simultaneously affected the agricultural labor of the area. Job opportunities contracted throughout most of the rural areas of the nine southeastern States and, at the same time, the need for agricultural workers expanded in many areas along the Atlantic Seaboard. It was during this period that King Cotton transferred his throne from the southeast to the southwest. Between 1919 and 1939, the acres planted to cotton in the nine southeastern States, discussed in this report, dropped from over 15,000,000 bales to less than 9,000,000. This meant that cotton, the industry employing the largest number of rural workers in the region cut the number of workers on its payroll by 40 percent. During this period also, single, one man, one-mule plows began to give way to double, one man, two-mule plows. Technology, although moving more slowly than in most other areas, did not stand still. There were fewer jobs and each employed worker was doing more.

At the same time, the advent of quick transportation permitted areas at great distances from areas of consumption to produce berries, fruits, and vegetables and get them to tables relatively fresh. This caused the consumption of these products to increase very greatly. From 1929 to 1939, the number of acres devoted to the production of vegetables for sale within the nine coastal States from New York to Florida, inclusive, increased over 25 percent. Doubtless, the increase for the full 25-year period was much greater. However, comparable figures for the 15 years prior to 1929 are not available.

Fortunately, it was possible to meet this increasing demand from vegetables grown on cheaper lands lying many hundreds of miles from the great centers of population. A striking characteristic of this development has been the high concentration of production in very narrowly limited areas rather widely separated from each other, and usually far from population centers. This high concentration of activity in narrowly limited areas enforced heavy dependence on seasonal workers from outside the areas, since it was not feasible to maintain within the areas for 12 months the very large number of workers needed for the 1 to 3 months of peak activity. This development of areas of concentrated production had progressed by 1944 to the point where about 40 areas were using a considerable number of migrants.

The two developments described above, contracting agricultural job opportunities throughout the southeastern States and rapidly expanding

employment in areas of highly concentrated fruit and vegetable production scattered along the coast, set the stage for migration.

From the foregoing, it is apparent that it is possible to explain the migratory movement by relating it to the social and economic conditions that produced it. No complete explanation, however, is attempted here. An examination of some of the areas in which these migrants work may contribute to an understanding of the movement and its significance as a social and economic phenomenon involving twenty or thirty thousand people. In exhibit B several of the 40 areas are described.

CHAPTER V

Objectives of the Program

The objective of the Extension Service was to preserve a useful but disappearing labor supply that was necessary to the maximum production of food essential to winning the war. Expanding work opportunities in war production, withdrawals into selective service, and the difficulty of getting gasoline, tires, and vehicles had by 1943, reduced the flow of migrants in the region from more than 25,000 in prewar years to less than 10,000. Manifestly, the most important source of non-local workers was in danger of being wiped out entirely just at the time it was most needed.

Out of the main objective of preserving the labor supply represented by the migration there arose several subsidiary objectives. These are set forth in the following paragraphs, while the effort to attain them is described in the chapter on Methods of Operations.

The necessity for limiting the use of gasoline and tires to persons engaged in essential activities cause rationing authorities to require of applicants evidence that the gasoline or tires would be used in such a manner as to advance the war effort. With respect to agricultural migrants this evidence was to establish two facts; first, that the applicant was a bona fide agricultural migrant and second, that he already had an agricultural job necessitating travel and would not therefore, use the gasoline in aimless wandering in search of employment. The difficulty the worker experienced in establishing before local rationing boards his status as an agricultural migrant plus the additional difficulty of finding a specific employer in the areas to be visited before the visit could be made was for many an insurmountable obstacle.

Another obstacle to movement, more important with respect to the part-time migrants than to the professionals but still seriously affecting both, was the fear of many employers that workers who once left the area, would be permanently lost to the local labor force and that acquaintance with the wage structures of other areas would cause them to be discontented with local rates.

Fully 15,000 workers had been lost from the migration during 1940, 1941, and 1942. This loss manifested itself in a smaller number of worker groups leaving the southern areas and in a reduced membership of the groups that did leave. Since the migration consists chiefly of these groups of workers who travel and work together, efforts to increase the number of migrants would involve increasing the number of worker groups and the number of individuals in the groups.

From a time standpoint, weather schedules agricultural employment. Only within rather narrow limits can farmers control their operations. Temperature, moisture, and sunshine determine the dates upon which they can plant, cultivate, and harvest. Since these factors vary widely from year to year and are wholly unpredictable, it is difficult to synchronize the

movement of migrants over hundreds of miles with crop maturities. This has normally resulted in much loss of employment to migrants because of the difficulty of being in the right place at the right time. It resulted in loss to farmers because of their not having workers at the right time. Often these two losses have been incurred simultaneously simply because of inadequate communication between migrants and their employers regarding the changing dates of employment resulting from current changes in weather. In prewar years these losses were somewhat generally looked upon as normal and about as uncontrollable as the weather itself. In the war years they could not be treated lightly. Obviously an effort should be made to eliminate or reduce them.

Another loss of available manpower ordinarily occurred within the various work areas resulting from the fact that workers often could not transfer quickly from completed jobs to new jobs because they did not know which employers had work for them. Customarily several days of unemployment would elapse while workers were seeking a new employer.

Another factor tending to prevent full utilization of available migratory labor was the frequent failure of employers and migrants to understand the employment patterns followed by each other. This lack of mutual understanding occurred most often where groups new to the migration, or farmers using migrants for the first time, were concerned. War necessities, moreover, removed many experienced migrants and farmer-employers from bargaining positions and replaced them with persons of less knowledge and experience. This fact slowed the transfer of workers between jobs and from area to area and, therefore, increased the number of unemployed days elapsing between jobs. There was a real need that an effort be made to educate farmers and workers each in the employment procedures of the other.

Another hindrance to full employment arose from the type of group organization prevalent in the migration. While small groups are numerous, 75 percent of the workers move in groups of over 10 and more than 50 percent of the workers move in groups of over 20. The difficulty of obtaining and operating passenger cars under war conditions has tended to further increase the size of groups. Since the workers in these groups are depending on the vehicle for transportation between areas they resist efforts to disperse them within an area. This reluctance of the workers to scatter among a number of small employers brings into ^{the} placement pattern a strong element of inflexibility. Full utilization of all the manpower available through the migration demanded that this inflexibility of placement pattern be decreased or eliminated.

Throughout, the objective of the Extension Service, in its work with Atlantic Coast migrants, has been to maintain through the war years

the labor availability they embodied, rather than in the preservation or expansion of migration as a permanent labor pattern. Specifically, its effort has been chiefly directed toward removing obstacles to free movement, recouping losses in workers resulting from competing employment and withdrawals into the armed forces, and attaining fuller utilization through reduction in unemployed time. The policies, procedures, and techniques used in this effort are described in the following chapters.

CHAPTER VI

Principles of Operation

The scarcity of migrants during the harvest period of 1943 served to establish the necessity of taking measures to check the loss of workers available from this important source. In March of 1944, the farm labor supervisors, representing the Extension Service of ten of the Atlantic Seaboard States met in Raleigh, North Carolina, to examine the factors that were operating to remove so many useful workers from this mobile labor force and, if possible, to evolve a cooperative program on an interstate basis that would check the loss. When data on conditions from all sections were assembled and examined it immediately became apparent that action on three phases of the problem was imperative. First, it was necessary to remove obstacles to inter-area movement that resulted from the scarcity of gasoline, tires, and vehicles. Second, it was necessary to replace lost workers by bringing into the migration persons new to the movement. Third, it was entirely probable that the best prospect of increasing the number of man-days of useful work lay in a fuller utilization of such migrants as were available through reducing the number of unemployed days intervening between jobs. It was further apparent that cooperative State and Federal action would be necessary to obtain the best results.

At this conference the objectives and principles of action of the program were evolved and to some extent methods and procedures were projected. During 1944 and 1945, these objectives remained the same while methods and procedures were further developed and refined as need developed and experience accumulated.

Three fundamental principles have governed all Extension activities with reference to these migrants. First, existing patterns of movement were to be preserved. This principle laid upon all personnel recruiting or directing migrants the necessity for the exercise of great care to see that existing employment relationships between migrants and their employers, which often hold over from year to year, were not disrupted. These continuing employment relationships that bring the same workers back to the same employer year after year are priceless in labor distribution. The same principle applied in the more general matter of directing workers to areas as well as to individual employers. Some compelling reason must be present before workers were to be directed to areas different from those to which they were accustomed to going. So, too, adherence to this principle implied the necessity of refraining from disturbing the dating of the various moves between areas except in the light of authentic knowledge of all the pertinent facts.

Second, government action was to supplement, not replace action by workers or employers. Under this principle all effort was put forth to prevent either workers or employers from relying on the Extension Service to perform

functions which they could perform themselves. Each was encouraged to continue the efforts they had put forth in the past to find jobs or to find workers. The Extension Service was to help only after their efforts had failed.

Third, the function of the Extension Service would be merely to facilitate actions of workers and employers. In accordance with this principle, the Extension Service extended aid to migrants and employers in the execution of plans they conceived themselves. It refrained from effort to influence these plans, except in exceptional cases. It collected information about potentially available workers and distributed that among workers. When workers had decided where they wished to go, the Extension Service helped them get gasoline and tires to make the trip. It also helped employers to take the necessary steps in the areas of potential labor supply for successful recruitment and then helped them "clear" this labor.

CHAPTER VII

Methods of Operation

The need of migratory workers for authentic information about the current conditions of crops, maturity dates, and need for workers in the various areas has long been manifest. For years the presence of unemployed migrants in the areas of use has been a frequent occurrence. They would arrive too early, or too late, or would find too many workers in the area already. They lacked information upon which they could base their itineraries. Employers also often attempted to recruit in areas where all workers were currently employed or where they had completed their employment and had already left for other areas. They, too, lacked authentic information as to where currently available workers could be found. The loss of time and money incurred by both workers and employers in prewar years cut deeply into savings and profit but did not become a matter of national concern until the loss of man-days of potentially available labor occasioned by this ignorance of facts began to hamper the full production of food needed to prosecute the war. The Extension Service, with its network of county offices covering both the areas of need and the areas of potential worker supply, with personnel whose business it was to know crop conditions and labor supply, was in a fine position to collect and distribute information upon which migrants could rely when planning their itinerary.

The problem of getting and supplying information presented two phases. The migrants had actually to make two decisions and for each they needed information of a somewhat differing type. They had first to make up their minds as to whether they would join the migration for the particular season and, if so, what areas they would visit. For this decision, which was to be taken long in advance of actual departure, information of a rather general type would suffice. They needed to know what crops were planted in the various areas and at about what time activities would begin. Upon this information a tentative plan for the season could be laid. The second decision was really a succession of decisions and involved specific choices of areas and definite determinations of dates for the various parts of the itinerary. The information necessary for a wise decision here had to be specific and current.

The map attached as exhibit C was prepared and distributed to workers, county agricultural agents, and employers. The location of 38 principal areas that use migratory workers was shown. The main crops produced in each area, the dates of heavy activity, and the names and addresses of the county agricultural agents in the area were also given together with suggestions as to how to get jobs and gasoline. The map, itself, gave practically all the general information the migrants' needed to make their first decision as to whether and where they would go. They were warned, however, that the dates given on the map were average dates and that, for any given year, the dates might vary by as much as two weeks. They were urged, therefore, because of this and the added uncertainty as to degree of need for

workers in the chosen area, to communicate with the appropriate county agent to obtain the more specific and current information needed before actually visiting an area.

The term "recruitment" when related to labor need or labor supply ordinarily carries the idea of employer initiative, an active seeking of employees by employers. No single term has been developed carrying the converse idea of activity resulting from employee initiative in actively seeking jobs. During recent years, most labor placement situations that have involved government action have been so heavily over-balanced on the side of worker scarcity that the concept of job seeking has played little part in the thinking of those dealing with labor supply. The term "recruitment" has come to imply to them even more vigorous, aggressive and one-sided action than it formerly did. Recruitment among workers actively seeking jobs would seem to some to be an anomaly. Yet this is what has actually been going on among migrants. Actual and would-be migrants are essentially job seekers. Maintaining or increasing the number of migrants involves recruitment effort of a kind unfamiliar to most persons who have worked on labor supply during the war years or who have never worked with migrants. Certainly, it is necessary to modify the meaning of recruitment or discontinue its use entirely when referring to migrants. The process by which the number of migrants increased from less than 10,000 in 1943 to more than 20,000 in 1944 may not be recruitment in the narrower meaning of that term, however, it has been useful to use that designation for the activity.

From the foregoing it is not to be assumed that employers have not actively sought migrants. They have, and often most aggressively. A part of the Extension "recruitment" effort was to encourage them to do so. They have been urged to retain from season to season the names and addresses of the migrants working for them and to maintain contact with them through the winter by correspondence in order that they might enhance their chances of obtaining the services of the same workers during the next season.

The preparation and distribution of the map shown in exhibit C was "recruitment" effort since there is considerable reason to believe it was an effective way of presenting job opportunities. Its potentialities probably were not greatly exaggerated when the decision was made to restrict its first appearance to those areas where workers would soon complete their work. At present, however, the maps are widely scattered and may even now be recruiting for next season.

Another rather generalized recruitment effort was put forth when meetings of county agents were held in labor supply areas at which information about out-of-State needs were made known and methods of cooperation in meeting these needs were worked out.

Perhaps the most specific and direct recruitment occurred each spring when the writer took two or three Extension Service employees to

Florida for the purpose of interviewing groups of workers and telling them about the needs of other areas and of specific employers. These individuals visited the Florida counties at the time harvest work was almost completed and with the aid of the county agricultural agent and, under his supervision, visited labor camps or held conferences with workers at some central point. They presented current information about employment in other States. This general plan of having two or three workers on the Federal level interview workers in the interest of several States was supplemented in 1945 by having a representative of each of four northern States visit five farm labor camps of North Carolina and cooperatively aid the leaders of groups of migrants in readjusting schedules of travel that had been upset by long continued unseasonable weather. Over 100 group leaders were interviewed.

Gasoline and tire rationing was a very real hurdle for migrants to surmount. The rationing agencies required evidence that the applicant was a bona fide agricultural worker and that he had a job which could be reached only by travel. Both of these facts were often difficult to establish. The first, because the word of the migrant as to his status needed substantiation. The second, because it was difficult to secure evidence of a job in an area before arrival in that area. These problems of migrants were far from simple, as is attested by the fact that they had to follow itineraries covering from 2,000 to 3,000 miles and extending over 6 or 8 months. Inevitably, they would have to deal with a succession of local rationing boards to which they were entire strangers.

Early in the program, rationing authorities asked the Extension Service to identify agricultural migrants. This was accomplished by the issuance of the identification card shown in Exhibit D. The migrant retained this card throughout the season and as the signatures of the county agents in the various areas in which he worked accumulated it became of increasing value as a means of establishing his status. It enabled migrants to obtain gasoline in any area.

The other problem of satisfying rationing authorities that the identified migrant would not have to consume gasoline in more or less aimless wandering in search of a job was partly solved by pointing out to both migrants and employers the need for written evidence of employment agreements that had been effected. Written offers of employment were always accepted as adequate evidence for issuing tires or gasoline coupons. This type of evidence, however, was not always available, since not every migrant could secure a job with a specific employer before he left his home. For the benefit of the very large number of migrants who were going to an area for the first time or who for some reason could not locate an employer in advance of entering an area, it was necessary for the Extension Service to assure the rationing boards that work was available in the area to be visited. This fact could be readily established by communication between the county agricultural agents involved. The agent in the area needing workers could

inform the agent where the workers were located of the nature and extent of need. The migrants could then be referred by one agent directly to the other agent who would direct them to employers who would hire them.

Another device for aiding the movement was the operation of information stations. These stations were situated on the highways most generally used by migratory groups. One was located in Florida just below the Georgia line, on highway U. S. 17. One was located just below Wilmington, North Carolina, where highways U. S. 60 and 17 meet. Another was at Little Creek, Virginia, where the Ferry across Chesapeake Bay leaves for Cape Charles, Virginia. The most northernly station was at Pocomoke, Maryland. The Extension Service maintained personnel at these stations to aid migrants who were in difficulties. They also received telegraphic requests for workers and distributed information to migrants about available jobs. An incidental, but most useful service, was counting passing migrants and collecting information about the rate of flow. A phase of this last service was the daily notification of county agents to whose counties migrants were moving. This enabled those agents to form some estimate of the migrants available to the county. They could also inform the employers, to whom these workers were going, of the probable time of arrival and the number of migrants on the way to them.

CHAPTER VIII

Results of Program

By 1943, when the program was first conceived, but before operations actually got underway, the number of these migrants had fallen from more than 25,000 to less than 10,000. This loss of around 15,000 workers was a real threat to the production of the area just at the time that full production was needed most. One result was the allocation to these areas of several thousand of the foreign workers who had been imported from Jamaica and the Bahama Islands. These, together with such migrants as were available, aided by non-farm men, youth and women harvested the crops without significant loss, although the labor situation remained "tight".

During 1944, the program of assistance to migrants outlined herein became effective. Extension Service employees actually reported being in touch with 14,000 migrants and since reports were incomplete, it is conservative to assume that the total number had been increased by at least 5,000 or 50 percent. All crops were harvested without any important loss attributable to lack of workers. There were, in fact, a few areas where, for short periods, not all migrants could find employment.

The program continued during 1945 with considerable improvement in procedures. Reports from the field indicate that there was another increase of about 5,000 or 100 percent when compared with 1943. The availability of migrants permitted the cancellation of some contracts for use of foreign workers.

There is considerable reason to believe that an equally important result of the program was secured by utilizing more fully the potential labor supply represented by the migratory groups. Migrants did not have to consume either time or gasoline in searching for employers. They were directed to areas or to specific employers needing them. Employers did not have to make expensive trips to areas only to find that no workers were available there. Much time that otherwise would have been spent in non-productive job seeking thus became available for productive work.

CHAPTER IX

Comments on the 1945 Season

During 1945, crops in North Carolina and the States south of it matured from one week to two weeks earlier than usual, while those in States to the north matured from one to two weeks late. This created a gap of from two to four weeks in the normal crop succession. The itineraries of the migrants were thoroughly dislocated. There was danger that the working crews, confronted with a long period of unemployment, would disintegrate and many of the workers return south from North Carolina or enter non-agricultural employment. This critical situation was met by conferring with Extension Service officials representing employers who expected to use these migrants in Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and New York. These representatives were able to find many short term "fill-in" work for most crews and so hold them together until their regular contracts began. These Extension Service officials were invited to North Carolina by the North Carolina Extension Service. There they were taken to five of the six government camps operated for migrants where at night meetings they met over 100 crew leaders and contractors, and discussed their mutual employment problems. As a result of adjustments made in itineraries, the crews did not break up and there was relatively little loss of time experienced by the workers.

From Maryland south there was, in the areas using migrants, an unusually even balance between labor need and labor supply. There were practically no reports from farmers of worker shortage or from workers of job shortage. From Virginia, north, there was much loss of time because of extremely wet weather. There was an adequate supply of migrants in these areas with the possible exception of New York where bean plantings, usually made successively were, because of an abnormally late spring, all made at approximately the same time. The whole crop, therefore, matured at about the same time with a very great demand for workers for a relatively short period.

Exhibit E presents a table showing the estimated number of migrants in each of the 40 areas shown on the map during 1945. The dates of heavy employment are also shown. The total of workers on this table is not the number of migrants because many worked in more than one area and there were also many who worked in areas not included among those using migrants heavily.

CHAPTER X

A Look Ahead

Is migration necessary to the agricultural economy of the Atlantic Seaboard? If it is necessary, what social and economic problems does it present?

A proper perspective is necessary to any useful discussion of the problem of this migration. First, it is desirable that this particular migration be identified and characterized in order that it may be distinguished ^{against} migration in general which has been a matter of general national concern.

Migration, when the term is used in its general sense, includes movements of several varying types. The extensive movement of workers to centers of war production has, in recent years, attracted such widespread attention as to color the term for most persons who have been unaware of other types of migration. The coming of the colonists to this country, however, was a migration as was the later westward movement. The movement of northerners and westerners to Florida or California each winter is a migration. It is obvious, therefore, that before the significance of a specific migration can be evaluated it must be studied with reference to its own origins and characteristics.

As has been pointed out, this Atlantic Coast Migration of agricultural workers had its origin in the economic and social changes arising from a regional decrease in cotton production and a regional increase in vegetable production. Cotton was an "extensive" crop covering Dixie like the dew and spreading work over thousands of square miles. Vegetables are an "intensive" crop concentrating work in a series of small highly productive areas. A redisposition of labor had to be made. Men had to follow jobs. Unfortunately, most of the small vegetable producing areas could not offer work for more than a month or so. It, therefore, takes several areas to provide work for 12 months. Fortunately, successive employment by several areas is possible. Florida can give late fall, winter, and early spring employment while other States can provide late spring, summer, and early fall employment. Herein lies the origin and explanation of the Atlantic Coast Migration of agricultural workers.

This migration has three chief characteristics: first, it is limited to seasonal agricultural work in a series of rather small quite well defined areas of commercial production on the Atlantic Seaboard; second, it is limited almost wholly to unskilled Negroes from southeastern States; third, it is alternating and repetitive, consisting of an annual northward movement in the spring followed by a southward movement in the fall.

Since the Atlantic Coast migration has its roots in fundamental changes that have taken place in an important sector of the agricultural economy of

the region, is not a temporary device to meet an emergency. Nor does it complete itself by movement, but is continuously repetitive. It is not likely, therefore, that any thing other than fundamental changes in the agricultural economy of the region will put an end to it.

Fundamental changes in the agricultural economy of the region that would eliminate migration are, of course, possible. Further developments in methods of preserving freshness in vegetables and in speedy transportation of such products may disintegrate the present marketing system which has been an important factor in fixing the location of producing areas. These developments might have the effect of dispersing production over such wide areas that local labor would be adequate for all operations as it was in cotton. This would, in effect, be reversing the process of taking workers to production by taking production to the workers.

Another development that might end the need for this migration would be the development of machines that would pick beans, tomatoes, apples, and citrus. This seems unlikely since machines are color blind and color is the best evidence of maturity.

Perhaps it would be possible to provide enough additional employment in the areas producing these "flash" crops to establish in the area for 12 months the large number of workers needed for the peak harvest period. Some of this additional employment could, doubtless, be provided by a judicious choice of additional crops. However, it is almost certain that most additions to the employing capacity of the areas would have to come from industrial enterprises brought into the areas. This possibility now seems very remote.

Since there is little likelihood that the trends which have fostered the migration of agricultural workers on the coast will, in the foreseeable future, reverse themselves, it is only realistic to assume for the present that migration is a necessary and continuing feature of the economy of the region. Such an assumption should open the way for the development of a program for improving the conditions of migratory living.

Housing is probably the most urgent problem related to the migration. The movement has had its development under conditions of employment that prevail when many workers are actively seeking jobs. Workers were plentiful, usually too plentiful. They had, therefore, little opportunity to choose between housing offered by different employers. Employers did not have to rely upon good housing to entice or hold workers. Housing was, in the main, such as individual employers wanted to supply. Some was good, much was not. Ordinarily, if the first two or three groups would decline the housing offered, some other group would need work badly enough to accept. Previous to the war, housing was not an absolute requisite for retaining workers in an area. Quite often empty freight cars were used and even more often barn lofts. Empty tobacco curing barns or other outbuildings frequently sufficed to retain workers. Under these conditions there were no housing standards, nor was there any effective and continuing effort to enforce sanitary codes such as were applicable to the dwellings of other citizens.

During the thirties, the U. S. Government's Farm Security Administration erected several camps for migrants in Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland with funds appropriated by the Federal Government. Up to now, there have been two noticeable effects of this action on the general housing situation. Many workers have experienced really acceptable quarters and are less easily satisfied with inferior housing; farmers in the areas served by these camps have permitted much of their private housing to fall disuses and decay.

During the war most of the housing mentioned above was diverted to the use of foreign workers whose governments required by contract that the housing provided their nationals measure up to acceptable standards. In New York and New Jersey, where the housing of migrants is entirely a responsibility of employers, housing codes have recently been adopted which, when effective, will insure vast improvement. In these, and in other States, where foreign workers were placed on the farms of individual farmers rather than in government camps, a Federal inspection of the quarters offered was required and standards were enforced.

It is quite widely expected that the necessity for providing good quarters for foreign workers, prisoners of war, and youth during the war years will have a carry-over effect in the postwar years and result in better housing for domestic seasonal workers. Attention now, certainly, is centered on housing as a problem of major importance. It is to be recognized, however, that the good example in housing set by the Farm Security Administration has not up to the present proved to be a compelling incentive to marked and widespread improvement. Perhaps a more potent incentive than government example will become operative. Should migrants become scarce relative to the need for them, competition for workers would immediately indicate the importance of good housing in recruiting workers. This situation would perhaps improve housing more rapidly than either housing codes or the example of government agencies.

Health service is another vital need of workers and their families who are in the movement. A large part of the thousands of people have remained almost untouched by a rapidly developing medical science and have received a minimum amount of medical service either public or private. During the late thirties, the Farm Security Administration maintained clinics and nurses in its camps and developed health associations through which medical and surgical treatment could be obtained by migrants. During the war, these services were continued. However, since the labor camps were nearly all occupied by foreign workers, the limited clinical and nursing services available were devoted mainly to the foreign workers and comparatively few migrants benefitted even though they continued eligible. The welfare of the many communities in which these migrants temporarily reside as well as their own well-being will be best served by a comprehensive health service that reaches both camp residents and those living in private quarters.

Fortunately, the migration does most of its moving during the spring and summer months when the schools are not in session. There are, however, many families that desire, because of financial considerations, to begin moving before the schools are closed in the spring or not return to their winter quarters until after the fall term has started. While there is no disposition to deny the children of these families admission to the schools in any of the areas, neither is there any special effort made to provide facilities for them. Often transportation facilities, school room space, and adequate teaching staffs are difficult to provide for the few weeks these children are in a school district.

The presence of children in the camps or quarters while parents are at work in the fields is a much more imposing problem than that of schooling. The Farm Security Administration provided care for these children in its camps during the last few years prior to the war. This service was discontinued during the war, except that in some of the larger private camps in New York child care was provided under the auspices of the State War Council and the Home Missions Council. A really adequate child care program, that extends to both the children in government camps and those in private quarters, is needed.

The number of individuals in the migration will, doubtless continue to fluctuate with the beat of the economic pulse of the southeast. In periods of expanding activity more jobs at attractive wages will be available in the southern areas and fewer rural workers will feel compelled to migrate. During periods of recessive activity, jobs will be scarcer and necessity will force more workers to migrate in search of a livelihood. However, in both good times and bad, there will be thousands of migrants harvesting crops on the seaboard. This way of making a living is too deeply embedded in too many people to be eradicated by anything less than fundamental economic change. The commercial vegetable industry of the area is based upon this labor source and cannot continue on anything like the present scale without it.

These migrants have become an essential segment of the economy of the region. Their substantial contribution to both the war effort and peace time economy should be more generally recognized. Their rights as citizens should not be impaired because they cross State lines. The loss of educational, health and welfare services should not be added to the already heavy penalties they pay for having begun their lives in an area suffering from job scarcity. They are a useful and integral part of our rural life and should be so accented by all who use them or who benefit from their industry.

EXHIBIT A

MIGRATORY CREWS AND CREW LEADERS

CREW A The leader of this crew was born and reared on a farm in Georgia. Five years ago his brother interested him in "coming north to better myself". He has been a migrant and a crew leader for five years. He gives Pompano, Fla. as his home. He and his crew have worked in Columbia, N.C. for five seasons, in Pocomoke, Md. for five, and in Mercer County, N.J. for two. In 1945 he arrived in North Carolina in June with 30 workers, in Maryland in July with 35, and about the 20th of July went to New Jersey with 12. This crew specializes in picking up and grading potatoes. The leader entered into contracts with growers to pick up and grade potatoes for 30 cents per hundred pounds. He paid his workers 10 cents per bag (about 100 pounds) for picking up and 75 cents per hour for grading. He recruited the workers and transported them from Florida and supervised their work.

CREW B The leader of this crew was born in St. Louis, Mo. and grew up in Alabama. He farmed for a while in Alabama, but lost money. He has been a migrant for six years and a crew leader for four years. His home is at Winter Park, Fla. He and his crew have worked at Bunnell, Fla., LaCrosse, Fla., Bayboro, N.C. and Robbinsville, N. J. for six seasons and at Exmore, Va. for two. In 1945, the crew left Florida with 25 workers, arriving at Bayboro, N.C. in June with 30, spent most of July at Exmore, Va. with 30 and August and September in New Jersey with 30. The crew is transported free of cost to themselves. The crew leader contracts with farmers to dig potatoes at a unit rate not disclosed. He pays the workers 10 cents per "field bag" for picking up and 85 cents per hour for grading. This crew specializes in potato digging and during 1945 had approximately six months fairly steady employment at this activity. This crew is transported in two trucks. It cost \$1,000 to get the crew to New Jersey. This amount, however, includes some advances to workers that proved to be uncollectable.

CREW C This is a crew of 350 and is one of the largest in the migration. It operates only in Florida and New York. From the middle of September to the first of June, it is in Florida. Most of this period is spent in harvesting beans in the Belle Glade Area. However, in December and January, there is normally an interlude in the harvest work of this area due to a frost that kills the crops. During this interlude, some of the crew help with the planting of new crops. Others find employment in other areas not subject to frost damage. Some take a vacation. By the first of February, a second crop of beans is mature in the Belle Glade area and the crew begins to reassemble. By the middle of May, the Belle Glade harvests are practically complete. During the next two weeks the workers rest and the crew leader (contractor) revamps the membership. Around the first of June, the crew moves out on its way to King Ferry, New York, where it engages in summer work for a cooperative association until September. At that time, many individual family groups return to Florida to enter their children in school. Others remain at King Ferry and complete the

the harvests there late in September. Most then return to Florida, although some find work in other New York areas until late October or early November.

The continued existence of this crew through 15 years illustrates how a crew can maintain a continuous existence through many changes and from season to season. Typically, the crews consist of an inner core of individuals that maintain membership season after season cohering around one leader or contractor. Around this central core there is a fluctuating membership whose relation to the crew is relatively unstable. These two types of membership makes possible a more flexible operation than would be possible.

CREW D The leader of this crew was born in Georgia and was a worker in the turpentine forests before becoming a migrant. He has been a migrant for 12 years and a crew leader for 11. He gives Pahokee, Fla. as his present home. In 1945, he left Florida with 24 workers on May 7 for Columbia, N. C. He arrived in Pocomoke, Md. on June 14 with 30 in the crew and was interviewed in Clinton, N.Y. on September 16 where he had a crew of 38. The larger part of this crew is from Pahokee, Fla., although in 1945 fourteen additional members were added after leaving Florida. The crew is transported by two trucks and one passenger car. The leader said it cost him \$400 to get the crew to New York.

CREW E. This crew originates in Palatka, Fla. Its leader was born and reared in Florida and has been a migrant and crew leader for two years. In 1945, the crew left Florida late in May and arrived in Elizabeth City, N.C. on May 24 with 32 members. The next stop was Horsey, Va. in early July where there were 28 workers in the crew. In late July, it arrived at Cranbury, N.J. with 28 workers. The return to Florida was late in September. They harvested potatoes in all areas. The crew leader contracted with employers to dig and grade for 30 cents per 100 pounds. He paid the workers 5 cents for each 5/8 bushel basket picked up and from 75 cents to \$1.00 per hour for grading.

CREW F This is a group of 140 workers collected at Belle Glade, Fla. by a New York employer and his own foreman. It probably is not a real crew since there is no continuing organization to hold it together after its present work is done. This is an instance in which a grower has tried to eliminate the crew leader or contractor by himself recruiting and transporting. His foreman says it cost \$700 to get the workers to New York. If to this is added the loss of time of the grower and foreman, the total cost is probably much greater than the charges of a crew leader or contractor would have been. The group was taken to New York late in June and was employed chiefly in harvesting beans.

CREW G This crew originates at Seville, Fla., where its members pick citrus in the winter. Its leader was born and reared in North Carolina where he owned a farm. He has been a migrant and a crew leader for the past four years. On July 10, 1945, he left Florida with ten workers and went directly to Robbinsville, N. J. to dig potatoes. When interviewed

there he had 15 workers with him. He contracts to dig potatoes for 26 cents per bag and pays the workers 10 cents per bag for picking up and 75 cents per hour for grading. He estimates that it costs him about \$12.00 per worker for recruiting and transporting.

CREW H This crew winters in Palm Beach County, Fla., where it engages in the winter vegetable harvest. In 1945, it left Florida on May 13 with 10 workers and arrived at Beaufort, N.C. on May 15 with 39. Early in June, it moved on to Elizabeth City, N.C. with 34 workers. On June 29, it passed the Little Creek Information Station with 27 workers. It was later found in Allentown, N. J. with 30 workers. Everywhere it dug potatoes. The crew leader was born in Virginia and grew up there. His last work before becoming a migrant was on a farm in Virginia. He has been a migrant for 12 years and a crew leader for 8 years. He estimates the cost of getting the workers to New Jersey at \$125.00

EXHIBIT B

Some Areas Using Migrants
(See Map)

Florida XI. (South Dade) This is a subtropical area and widely known for its limes and avacado pears. It produces large quantities of tomatoes, beans, and potatoes. The producing area is a pin point compared to the vastness of the uninhabited Everglades and coastal jungles that surround it. Miami lies some 30 miles to the north.

Planting begins in late summer and continues into the fall. Local labor is usually sufficient for both planting and cultivation, although several types of transient labor is usually available in this area of Florida and is used extensively.

Harvesting is heaviest from December 10 to April 15. The labor need for that period is at least 20 times that needed for planting and cultivating. Fortunately, much of this peak period comes after the usual mid December frost has ended harvesting in the Belle Glade area. Many of the migrants from there transfer into this area and usually remain until the peak is over. Many other migrants in addition return at about this time to this area after having completed their harvest work in northern States.

No government housing is available to Negro migrants within the area. A small camp was operated for white transients at Redlands during 1945.

At least six hundred migrants were used in this area in 1945. They worked in the area for about four months. Had they not migrated to other areas about the first of May, they would have been unemployed for about eight months.

Florida IX (Belle Glade) This area is the heaviest user of migratory labor on the seaboard. It embraces the drained muck area adjacent to Lake Okeechobee. The production of vegetables here places Palm Beach County in top rank in the whole country as a producer of fresh vegetables. It is completely surrounded by great stretches of wholly uninhabited or sparsely inhabited areas of glade and swamp lands. The producing area is a relatively small area of very fertile land in the midst of the Everglades. The East Coast with its narrow chain of settlements along Highway U. S. 10 is 40 miles to the east. No important center of population is within commuting distance. The area must import huge amounts of seasonal labor since it has practically no labor resources indigenous to the area.

Heavy activity begins about the middle of September. Usually a killing frost occurs around the middle of December. This frees thousands of migrants to enter other Florida areas, especially those designated on the map as Fla. XI, X, VI, and V, where there is rarely any frost damage. Immediately after the frost, planting begins again and by the middle of January the migrants begin returning to the area. About the middle of May harvest activity ends. Thousands of migrants then leave. Many stop for two

or three weeks to harvest potatoes in the LaCross and Hastings areas of northern Florida. Most, however, go directly to points in States to the north. In 1945, over 7,000 migrants applied to the Extension Service in this area for identification as migratory agricultural workers in order that they might get gasoline to travel to other States. These 7,000 were those who were known to have left the area. From 10,000 to 15,000 seasonal workers were in the area at the peak period.

Unless these migrants entered the area in the fall, this important vegetable production would be impossible. Unless they left in the spring they would be unemployed for five months.

No discussion of this area should fail to mention the production of sugar cane. The United States Sugar corporation has over 30,000 acres devoted to this crop. That company is endeavoring to lighten its heavy problem of securing seasonal labor by providing activities extending throughout the year. They are now growing sweet potatoes, lemon grass, and ramie. These crops tend to smooth out the seasonal demands. The cane harvest alone would provide work only from November to April. These newer crops afford considerable summer work. However, the complete elimination of unbalanced seasonal demand even for this company seems to be far in the future.

Workers are housed in government camps at Belle Glade, Pahokee, and Canal Point. Many live in houses rented or owned by the workers themselves or by other non-employer individuals. Some are housed in grower quarters. The sugar corporation has several villages in which its workers are housed.

Florida IV (Interior Citrus) This is a citrus area lying along the "Ridge" in approximately the middle of Florida. It is underlaid by limestone and is dotted with unnumbered lakes both large and small. These lakes restrict the temperature range and favor citrus production. There is always a close relationship between the lakes and grove location.

The citrus industry, long established in the area has given rise to many small communities throughout the area and has, therefore, collected a labor force somewhat more stable than that of the vegetable areas. However, even here there is also a large influx of migrants for the picking season.

Harvest activities begin about the first of November and continues until June. Summer employment at maintenance work in the groves enable many harvest workers to stay in the area the year-round. However, many of the strictly seasonal workers must migrate or become unemployed.

There is no government housing available to migrants within the area.

Over 1,300 migrants were in the area for the 1945 season.

Georgia III, IV & V (Claxton, Moultrie & Valdosta) In these areas there is an important plant industry. Many of the tomato plants that are transplanted to the tomato growing areas of the northern States are started in seedling beds here.

The season of heaviest plant pulling occurs in late April and early May. Often peak activity lasts only two weeks. Relatively few migrants visit the area. However, the period of heavy activity comes just between heavy work in Florida and heavy activity in North and South Carolina. Often at that time there are migrants who need "fill-in" work between longer contracts.

Only grower housing is available to migrants.

Georgia I & II (South & Middle Peach Area) These are peach areas. They are, in fact, almost one continuous area. The "South Peach" area lies on the sandy soils of the coastal plain and for a long time was the only producing area. Later it was found that the clays of the Piedmont produced well also and was free, at least temporarily, of some of the ills that accompany long continued peach production in an area. Now the "Middle Peach" area is also an important producer.

Heavy production begins about June 20 in Georgia II and continues until July 10. The dates for Georgia I are somewhat later, from July 5 to July 25.

The labor problems of the areas are the same, about three weeks of intense activity with so much overlap of periods of activity that there can be little exchange of pickers between the sections. The chief reliance of both areas is upon the families of Georgia cotton farmers living within commuting distance of the orchards. Fortunately, peach picking is done chiefly after cotton is "laid by" and before picking begins. However, when there is a heavy peach crop, it becomes very difficult to secure enough workers from this source and outside workers are brought in.

It is believed that fewer migrants enter the area now than formerly. Perhaps, this is further evidence that in the Southeast the balance between jobs and workers has been shifting toward relatively fewer jobs and relatively more job seekers, thus decreasing the need for outside workers. These are areas lying in the midst of the southeastern cotton economy.

About 150 migrants were in these areas for the 1945 season. No government housing is available.

South Carolina I & II (Ridge Peach & Spartanburg) The historical development of these two areas parallel that of Georgia I & II. In both regions the production of peaches began on the sands of the Coastal Plain later expanded to the clay soils of the Piedmont.

The dates of heavy activity, July 15 to August 5 for South Carolina I and July 25 to August 10 for South Carolina II do not permit much interchange of workers between areas. It is possible, however, for pickers who finish in Georgia II to move into South Carolina II. The maturity dates fit quite nicely. However, this movement does not take place very extensively, largely because Georgia cotton will be ready for picking before the South Carolina peach picking ends.

In most normal years and always when the peach crop is short there is an adequate supply of local and semi-local labor to harvest the crops of these areas. These are two more southeastern areas where the use of professional migrants seems to have decreased during the last several years. No government housing is available.

Three hundred migrants were in these two areas last season.

South Carolina III & IV (Charleston & Beaufort) These are potato and vegetable areas located on the low blacklands of tide water area. Charleston lies in the midst of South Carolina III area. Potatoes, the crop that calls for most outside areas are growing mainly in the "island" area south of Charleston. The "islands" are not islands in the usual sense but, rather, are fertile tracks of land separated from adjoining territory by narrow tidal streams. "Youngs Island", "Edisto Island" "Johns Island" are well known to the seasonal workers who visit the area.

These areas are located in a section that has been fairly thickly populated since colonial days. This is, historically, a contrast to most Florida vegetable areas where the commercial production of vegetables began in rich new areas with little or no population. However, especially with reference to potatoes, production has become so concentrated that the supply of workers close enough to the fields to commute daily has become inadequate and outside workers have to be brought in. These come mainly from two sources, one from nearby points in South Carolina and the other from the Atlantic Coast Migration. Both involve housing problems and, therefore, neither of the two sources has much of a competitive advantage over the other. However, there is considerable evidence that for some years prior to the war the number of semi-local workers increased at the expense of the number of migrants. This probably was a result of the contraction of job opportunities in the rural southeast, that has been referred to in the body of this report. South Carolina workers found it increasingly necessary to supplement decreasing income from the cotton economy with easier income from the vegetable industry. Here there was competition between displaced workers who had become migrants and appeared in south Carolina by way of Florida and workers who had not yet become full professional migrants and had come to these South Carolina areas directly from their South Carolina homes.

These areas are skirted by U. S. Highway 17, the principal artery of travel used by migrants going north from Florida, and are so easy of access that many migrants do enter the areas every year.

Since a large number of professional migrants and perhaps a larger number of semi-local workers work together in these areas, there results an annual increment to the migration from those semi-local workers whose ties to their home areas have become most tenuous. This same recruitment process goes on in most Southern areas but is probably greater in these two South Carolina areas than elsewhere.

No government housing has been available to migrants until late in 1945 when two government camps were built.

Approximately 1800 migrants were in these areas in 1945.

North Carolina III (Aurora-Bayboro) This is another small area of concentrated production out of commuting distance of any large center of population. Aurora, the largest town within the area has a normal population of less than 500. During the potato digging season, its population increases four-fold.

Here again semi-local and professional migrants mingle with a heavy preponderance of the professionals.

Heavy activity covers the month of June. This seems to be a favorite area with migrants. Every year many groups visit the area only to find that all needs of employers are already filled. A scarcity of labor here for the potato harvest is almost unknown. Migrants come here from nearly every part of Florida.

The popularity of this area accrues in part from its location and fortunate dating of heavy activity. It lies between the southern and the northern segments of the migration and it offers employment during June after heaviest activity in southern areas have ceased and before heaviest activities in northern areas have begun. Another reason migrants like the area is the fact that housing is available in two camps operated by the government.

At the end of June, employment suddenly recedes to the point that only local year-round workers can find jobs. Migrants must leave the area or become unemployed. A few return to Florida. By far the larger number, however, continues to areas further north. Many stop in North Carolina I (Elizabeth City) and help complete the potato harvest there.

Over 2400 migrants were in this area for the 1945 season.

North Carolina I (Elizabeth City) Elizabeth City, a town of something over 10,000 inhabitants contributes many workers to the harvests of this area, yet many hundreds of outside workers are needed. English peas, beans, and potatoes overlap during about a week or ten days of June. Potatoes, however, are by far the heaviest user of labor. Digging begins about the 10th of June and continues until the middle of July. The first migrants arriving come directly from Florida. Later, about July 1, others come from the other North Carolina potato areas.

There are three government camps in the area; one of which, Belcross, is just off U. S. Highway 17. This camp has become something of a way station for a large part of the movement up the coast. From the 1st of June to late in July, it is always full and during much of this period is turning migrants away daily. This camp is most strategically located for directing workers to areas needing them. More than 2400 migrants worked in the area during 1945. Perhaps an equal number applied for work or stopped for shelter or information.

Virginia III (Norfolk) The city of Norfolk lies in this area. Surely if nearness to centers of population mean easy solutions to farm labor problems, the employers of this area will have few worries. Such is not the case, however. Farmers of the area do transport many workers from the city to their fields and back to their homes daily. Not enough labor from this source is available, however, and many migrants are used.

The strawberry harvest begins as early as May 10. Not many migrants are available this early although a few groups do come up from Florida for this work and later drop back to North Carolina for the potato harvest. This backward migration is worthy of note since it is an example of a type of movement migrants sometimes have to make in order to fit their movements to crop maturity dates. If the migration is to be considered a stream, many such eddies and cross currents must be noted. By June 1, when bean picking begins, many migrants are available who have not found employment in North Carolina. The potato harvest begins about June 10. The first migrants available for this crop come directly from Florida. However, by the time digging becomes heaviest many are finishing their digging in North Carolina and are transferring to these fields. In some years, however, the Carolina potatoes are a bit late and those in Virginia a bit early. This causes quite heated competition for migrants.

Two government camps, one at London Bridge, the other at Back Bay are open to migrants. Over 1200 migrants were used in this area during 1945.

Virginia II (Eastern Shore) This area lies across the Chesapeake Bay from the mainland. There are no large centers of populations in or near the area. It is quite thickly populated, however, and normally there is enough local labor for planting and cultivation.

From May 1 to June 10, a limited number of outside workers are needed for harvesting strawberries and early beans. A few migrants come in directly from Florida and from South Carolina for these crops. Potato digging begins June 10 and from this time until July 10, there is a very heavy need for outside labor. Around July 10, the potato harvest is finished and most migrants move up into New Jersey, although there is usually a real need for many of them to remain to pick tomatoes. After July 1, this area receives many migrants from North Carolina who have completed the potato harvest there.

There is much overlapping in heavy activity dates between the crops of this area and those of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. As a result there is much competition for labor.

There is no government housing in the area open to migrants.

Approximately 3,600 migrants were in this area for the 1945 season.

Virginia I (Valley) This is the apple and peach area and includes much of the Shenandoah Valley.

Peaches are picked from August 1 to the 20th, apples from September 15 to November 15.

Normally, in the past, most pickers came from within the area and from the surrounding mountain areas. Few migrants were used. During the war, local labor became much more difficult to find and the State labor committee is doubtful that it will ever again be adequate to harvest a full crop. The apple harvest dates fit in quite well with the return of many migrants from New Jersey and New York. It is possible to aid migrants to establish the following itinerary that would meet the needs of this area:

November 15 - June 1 -- citrus - Fla. IV

June 5 - July 1 -- potatoes - North Carolina III

July 5 - September 15 -- peaches and apples - New Jersey and New York

September 15 - November 15 -- apples - Valley (Virginia)

This is an example of guidance that is needed in the migration.

Maryland II (Eastern Shore) This area is really a continuation of the Virginia Eastern Shore with much the same crops and much overlapping of dates.

Until after July 1, most migrants entering the area come directly from Florida or South Carolina. After July 1, many come from North Carolina where the potato harvest is finished. After July 20, many come from the Norfolk area of Virginia.

This area is the northern terminus of the itinerary for many migrants. Some, however, do go on to New Jersey or New York. Those harvesting tomatoes finish so late that there is usually little reason for them to continue northward.

Beginning the middle of August there is a late bean crop for which migrants are needed. These, however, are usually groups who have been in New York or New Jersey and are returning south early. The fact that there is a government camp located on the highway they use makes it quite easy to stop enough to complete this harvest.

Delaware

This area is contiguous to the Eastern Shore of Maryland and differs little from that area in either crops grown or dates of maturity. Crop maturities are generally about one week later. There is not enough variance in maturity dates to permit much transfer of workers between areas.

During the war this area was not a heavy user of migrants. Only 350 were in the area during 1945.

South Jersey Area 33

This area is located in a heavily populated section. However, not much of this population is of the type that will now do "stoop" harvest work. Some years ago, whites from the cities were the chief reliance for outside labor. These workers, however, became increasingly difficult to get until now they play only a very minor part in the harvests. Migrants from the south have largely replaced them.

The asparagus harvest begins early in May, much too early for many migrants to be easily available. From the middle of June through to October there are a variety of crops that offer quite steady employment.

The employers of this area experience difficulty in using migrants on a large scale. The farm operations are, in the main, small, each farmer using only three or four workers. Most migratory groups are much larger than this, and resist efforts to scatter their members on several farms. This forces most farmers to seek only small family groups which, during the war, were difficult to find.

New Jersey I (Middle Jersey)

This is the potato area of New Jersey. Here, too, the supply of seasonal workers from the cities has dwindled to insignificance.

Potato digging begins around July 20 and continues until the middle of September. During this period a very large number of migrants are used. Relatively small numbers of local and semi-local labor participate in the harvest work.

Although some of the migrants used come directly from Florida, most of them have already worked in the North Carolina and Virginia potato areas. Some of them frequently arrive in New Jersey too early since most of the Carolina potatoes are out of the ground by July 1.

Migrants participating in the harvest of this area are not available generally for further work in other northern areas. Most return to Florida about October 1. Many, however, stop in Maryland or Virginia for a short period to pick late beans.

No government housing is available.

Nearly 6,000 migrants worked in this area during the 1945 season.

New York IV (Long Island) This area produces potatoes and mixed vegetables in quantities that create a demand for considerable amounts of outside labor. As is the case with most areas near large cities, we find that here there was formerly heavy reliance on seasonal workers from the cities, chiefly from those of foreign birth or children of foreign born. This source, as has usually been the case, has dwindled during recent years. Now there is an increasing reliance on migrants from the south.

Heaviest activity does not begin until about the first of August and by this time nearly all migrants are out of the Carolinas and Virginia. Many have come to this area from those States. However, as is the case in most New York areas, many have come directly from Florida without intervening employment in other States. Employment continues in the area until the end of September when most migrants return directly to Florida.

No government housing is available.

About 1,200 migrants were used in 1945.

New York II (Central New York) This is a large area covering much of Central New York. Beans are the most important crop from the labor utilization standpoint. Harvesting begins about the tenth of July and continues through September. A very large part of the picking is done by outside labor. Migrants from the south and from Pennsylvania coal regions are now the chief sources.

Many migrants come to this area directly from Florida, although some do stop for June work in the Carolinas or Virginia.

There is no government housing available to migrants in the area. The employers offer accommodations, chiefly of the barracks type.

A few migrants from this area stop in the Valley of Virginia for the apple harvest before returning to Florida. Many more could do this.

No government housing is available.

There were about 3,000 migrants in this area during 1945,

New York I (Western New York) This is another large area covering much of western New York. A wide variety of fruits and vegetables is produced. From July through October, there is a heavy need for outside labor. As is usually the case, white seasonal workers from the cities have been largely replaced by southern migrants. Most of these come directly from Florida, although there are many groups that have stopped in the Carolinas or Virginia.

There is one government camp (Pike) available to migrants. Nearly all migrants, however, are housed in the private quarters of growers.

There were approximately 3,000 migrants in the area for the 1945 season.

ATLANTIC COAST MIGRATION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Production Areas, Crops, Maturity Dates

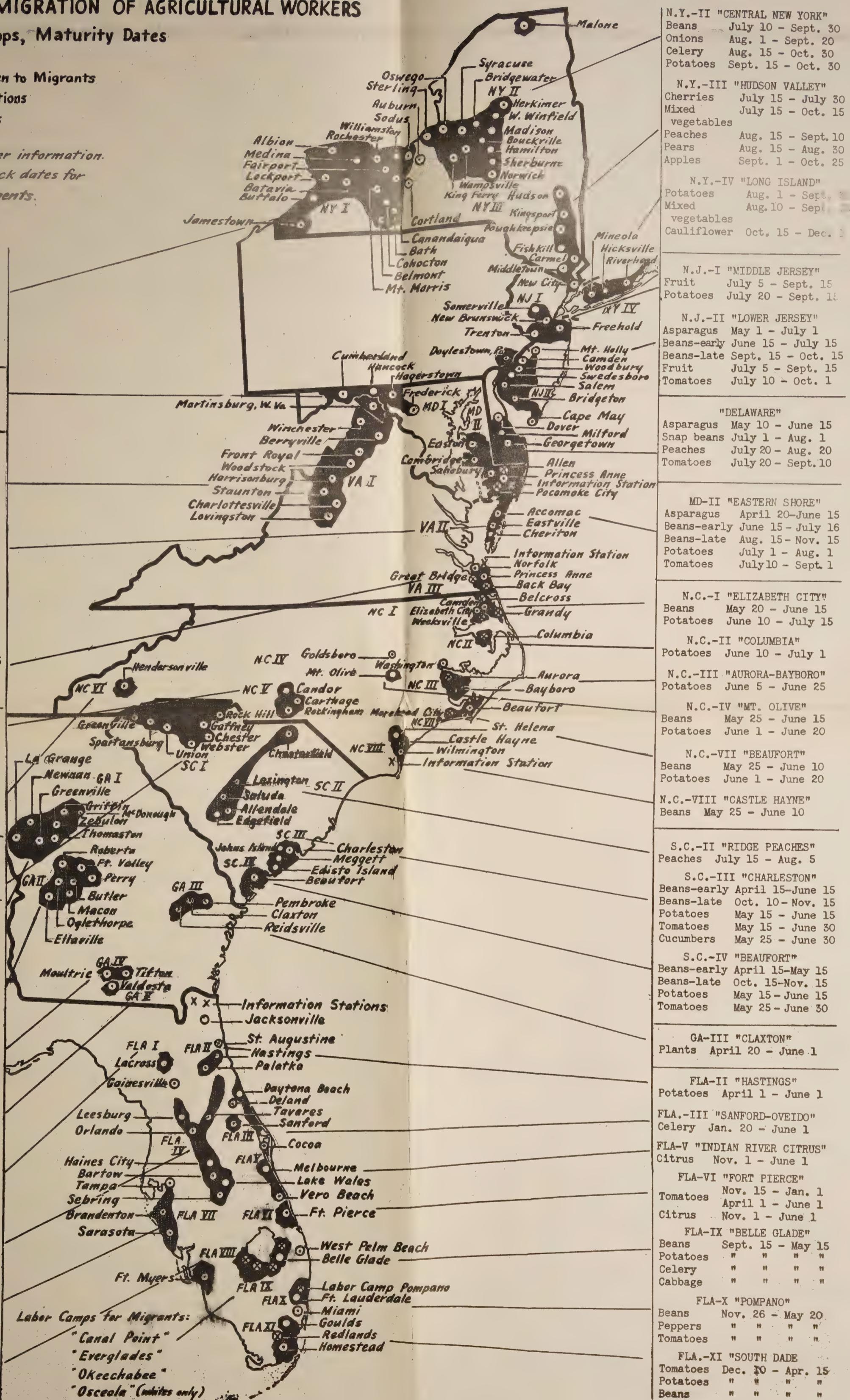
⊗ Government Camps Open to Migrants

✗ Highway Information Stations

○ County Agents' Offices

See back of map for other information.

Dates are average. Check dates for this year with County Agents.



ATLANTIC COAST
MIGRATION OF AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

AREAS - CROPS - MATURITY - DATES

Prepared by C. W. E. Pittman
Division of Recruitment and Placement, Extension Service
War Food Administration

HARVESTING IS WAR WORK

TO AGRICULTURAL MIGRANTS: This map and the information accompanying it has been prepared by the Agricultural Extension Service for your use. Keep it with you on your trip up the coast. It will answer many questions.

The county agents, whose names and addresses are given on the back are employees of the Extension Service. They will help you to get work and also gasoline and tires when necessary. Do not hesitate to visit, write, telephone or telegraph them.

In every area in which you work there will be one or more "placement" men working with the county agent. Find out who they are and get to know them. They can help you in many ways.

Migratory harvest hands are welcome in all the areas and many things are being done to help them go from area to area. Get your county agent to give you an identification card stating that you are a migratory farm worker. It will help you wherever you go.

SUGGESTIONS AND INFORMATION

Always take your food and shoe ration books with you into new work areas.

Do not go to a new area without checking the employment situation just before going. The dates given on this map are average dates and may be as much as ten days too early or too late for any particular year. The county agent or "placement man" will help you find out what you need to know about crop conditions and employment needs in other areas and States.

Written offers of employment will help you get gasoline and tires if you show them to rationing boards or county agents.

GETTING GASOLINE AND TIRES

If you use a truck:

When you need gasoline to travel between areas get the county agent (or his representative) in the area in which you are at work to recommend your application for an O.D.T. Certificate of War Necessity. These certificates are issued by O.D.T. District Offices which are usually many miles from the areas in which you work, therefore, you should get your application in at least a week before you must have the gasoline.

When you need gasoline for operation within an area you proceed as above except in this case the County Farm Transportation Committee recommends your application instead of the county agent. However, the county agent, or his "placement man" will help you with this application also, if you ask him to.

When you have received your Certificate of War Necessity present it to the O.P.A. board when you apply for gasoline.

If you use a passenger car:

O.P.A. has placed migratory farm workers in a "preferred" class for rationing. In order to get this preferred classification, applicants must be identified as migratory farm workers. County agents are usually asked by O.P.A. boards to so identify applicants. They do this by giving "identification" cards to those they know to be migratory farm workers. You should get one of these cards from your home agent when you start your trip north.

Because of the difficulty of the home rationing boards knowing how much gasoline will be needed by migrants whose itineraries may cover 2,000 or 3,000 miles and include work in three or four different areas over a period of six months, gasoline may be issued on an area to area basis. Under this method of issuance, which applies to both trucks and passenger cars, workers who are properly identified may get gasoline in each area in which they work to meet their needs within that area and for travel to the next point of employment. The county agent or his placement man can help you with this.

GETTING A JOB

When you have finished your work in one area and want to work in another area but do not have an employer, ask the nearest county agent or his placement man to help you. They have information in their offices about employment in other areas. Do not go to other areas until you are sure of work there.

CROP	USUAL DATES HEAVY ACTIVITY	COUNTIES IN AREA	COUNTY AGENT	TELE- PHONE	LOCATION	CROP	USUAL DATES HEAVY ACTIVITY	COUNTIES IN AREA	COUNTY AGENT	TELE- PHONE	LOCATION	CROP	USUAL DATES HEAVY ACTIVITY	COUNTIES IN AREA	COUNTY AGENT	TELE- PHONE	LOCATION
NEW YORK																	
N.Y. I "WESTERN NEW YORK"																	
Cherries	July 15-July 30	Niagara Allegany Orleans	D.M. Dalrymple C.R. Harrington A.G. West	1021 144 574	Lockport Belmont Albion	Strawberries	May 10-June 15	VA. III "NORFOLK"	Norfolk	L.B. Wilkins	53177	Norfolk	Potatoes	FLA. I "LACROSS"	Alachua	Loonis Blitch	852 Gainesville
Tomatoes	Aug. 25-Sept. 21	Monroe	R.S. Granger	MO.1795	Rochester	Beans	June 1-July 1	Princess	H.W. Calin	630	Princess	FLA. II "HASTINGS"					
Potatoes	Sept. 1-Oct. 30	Wyoming	J.B. Ketcham	36	Warsaw	Potatoes	June 10-July 20	Anne	Anne	53177	Norfolk	Potatoes	FLA. II "HASTINGS"	St. Johns	H.E. Maltby	189 St. Augustine	
Beets	Sept. 1-Nov. 1	Erie	C.F. Crowe	CL.4222	Buffalo	NORTH CAROLINA											
Peaches	Sept. 10-Sept. 20	Chautauqua	R.W. Cramer	4169	Jamestown	N.C. I "ELIZABETH CITY"											
Apples	Sept. 15-Oct. 25	Genesee	B.L. Culver	542	Batavia	Beans	May 20-June 15	Pasquotank	P.H. Jameson	615	Elizabeth City*	Potatoes	FLA. III "SANFORD-OVEIDO"	Seminole	C.R. Dawson	470 Sanford	
Carrots	Nov. 1-Nov. 15	Livingston	R.G. Parker	65	Mt. Morris	Potatoes	June 10-July 15	Currituck	A.L. Eagles	421	Camden	Potatoes	FLA. IV "INTERIOR-CITRUS"	Orange	K.C. Moore	7934 Orlando	
		Ontario	R.W. Pease	220-R	Canandaigua				L.A. Powell	121	Barco	Citrus	FLA. V "INDIAN RIVER CITRUS"	Polk	Paul Hayman	8156 Bartow	
		Seneca	H.L. Rhodes	545	Waterloo							Citrus	FLA. VI "FORT PIERCE"	Lake	Robt. Norris	Tavares	
		Steuben	W.S. Stempfle	124	Bath								FLA. VII "MANATEE-SARASOTA"	Volusia	F.E. Baetzman	Deland	
N.Y. II "CENTRAL NEW YORK"																	
Beans	July 10-Sept. 30	Herkimer	J.S. White	104	Herkimer	Potatoes	June 10-July 1	Tyrrell	H.H. Harris	55	Columbia	Potatoes	FLA. VIII "FORT MYERS"	Putnam	M.A. Boudet	2160 Vero Beach	
Onions	Aug. 1-Sept. 20	Cayuga	C.L. Messer	554	Auburn	Potatoes	June 5-June 25	Beaufort	W.L. McGahey	85	Washington	Potatoes	FLA. IX "BELLE GLADE"	Indian River	C.D. Kime	528 Ft. Pierce	
Celery	Aug. 15-Oct. 30	Oneida	M.E. Hislop	UT. 4-8616	New Hartford	Potatoes	June 1-June 20	Pamlico	J.P. Stovall	511	Bayboro	Potatoes	FLA. X "POMPANO"	Lee	M.A. Boudet	2160 Vero Beach	
Potatoes	Sept. 15-Oct. 30	Madison	C.W. Radway	372	Malone							Peppers	FLA. XI "SOUTH DADE"	Broward	B.E. Lawton	977 Ft. Lauderdale	
		Tioga	R.M. Cary	UN. 42	Wampsville							Tomatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Greenville	B.E. Lawton	4640 W. Palm Beach	
		Oneida	Bert Blanchard	285	Owego							Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Laurens	C.P. Heuck	Fort Myers	
		Cortland	R.J. Ames	60	Cooperstown												
		Chenango	I.B. Perry	802	Conkland												
		Onondaga	A.E. Durfee	309	Norwich												
		Delaware	W.E. Field	2-5111	Syracuse												
N.Y. III "HUDSON VALLEY"																	
Cherries	July 15-July 30	Columbia	R.G. Greig	1516	Hudson	Peaches	July 25-Aug. 20	Montgomery	R.E. Davenport	1997	Spartanburg	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Greenville	W.H. Coleman	5-3241 Bradenton	
Mixed vegetables	July 15-Oct. 15	Ulster	Albert Kurdt	1680	Kingston	Potatoes	July 25-Aug. 20	Richmond	E.H. Garrison	4790	Greenville	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Laurens	W.E. Evans	Sarasota	
Peaches	Aug. 15-Sept. 10	Dutchess	A.L. Shepherd	2267	Poughkeepsie	Potatoes	July 1-Oct. 10	Henderson	N.L. Hendrix	521	Laurens	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Union			
Pears	Aug. 15-Aug. 30	Rockland	C.C. Davis	6103	Middletown	Potatoes	May 25-June 10	Carteret	R.M. Williams	350	Union	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Cherokee			
Apples	Sept. 1-Oct. 25	Putnam	Leo Dillon	554	Carmel	Potatoes	June 1-June 20	Beaufort	R.M. Williams	292	Gaffney	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	York			
N.Y. IV "LONG ISLAND"																	
Potatoes	Aug. 1-Sept. 30	Nassau	H.H. Campbell	1437	Garden	Potatoes	May 25-June 10	New Hanover	R.W. Galphin	7144	Wilmington	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Rock Hill			
Mixed vegetables	Aug. 10-Sept. 15	Suffolk	W.G. Been	468	Riverhead	Potatoes	May 25-June 10	Wilmington				Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Palm Beach	H.L. Speer, Manager	285 Belle Glade	
Cauliflower	Oct. 15-Dec. 1																
NEW JERSEY																	
N.J. I "MIDDLE JERSEY"																	
Fruit	July 5-Sept. 15	Mercer	A.C. McLean	468	Trenton	Peaches	July 25-Aug. 10	Spartanburg	J.F. Jones	1997	Spartanburg	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Greenville			
Potatoes	July 20-Sept. 15	Middlesex	O.G. Bowen	1437	New Brunswick	Potatoes	May 15-June 15	Greenville	W.R. Gray	4790	Greenville	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Laurens			
		Monmouth	M.A. Clark	468	Freehold	Potatoes	May 15-June 15	Laurens	C.B. Cannon	521	Laurens	Potatoes	FLA. XII "SOUTH DADE"	Union			
N.J. II "LOWER JERSEY"																	
Asparagus	May 1-July 1																

EXHIBIT D

Identification Card

1945

WAR FOOD ADMINISTRATION - EXTENSION SERVICE
MIGRATORY CROP CORPS

Number

This identifies _____

His signature _____

He is an agricultural worker and furnishes transportation for
other such workers. His need for gasoline is indicated by the
following places where he and his group expect to work.

State	Place	Approximate dates from	To

(Fold here. This side in. Will fit in billfold.)

The last signature below indicates that these workers have maintained
their status as migratory agricultural workers in the area indicated and
desire to proceed to the next point shown above.

Date	State	County	Signature	Title

The following vehicles are used in the activities for which this
identification is made.

License No.	Make, type, capacity

TO WORKERS: When you need gasoline or tires, rationing boards will request the information shown on this card. This card identifies you - **KEEP IT**, and keep it up to date.

When you need help show this card to the nearest county agent, his labor assistant or placement man.

County agents or labor assistants will help you to:

Get work in their own counties or in other counties or States
Get gasoline and tires

County agents can be found at most county seats. They also have representatives at all Government farm labor camps.

ALWAYS FIND THE COUNTY AGENT OR SOMEONE REPRESENTING HIM WHEREVER YOU ARE AND DISCUSS YOUR PLANS WITH HIM. HE WILL HAVE MUCH INFORMATION USEFUL TO YOU.

TO COUNTY AGENTS: O. P. A. and O. D. T. have requested the assistance of the Extension Service in identifying migratory farm workers.

Your signature on this card attests continued status of a migratory agricultural worker. Most workers will have a card when they enter your area. Issue a new card only when necessary. The card should show areas already visited plus the next destination.

TO RATIONING BOARDS: This identification is made in accordance with
O.P.A. Annotation (.01 to Section 1394.7706

and O.D.T. Farm Vehicle Memorandum No. 14.

continued

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Area	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
North Carolina						100						
VI						450						
VII						6150						
Total						2350						
Virginia												
II Eastern Shore						3618	3618					
III Norfolk						1219	1219					
Total						4837	4837					
Maryland												
II Eastern Shore							2678	2678				
Delaware									300	300	85	
New Jersey												
I Middle Jersey							5744	5744				
II South Jersey						1243	1243	1243				
Total						1243	6987	6987				
New York												
I									2596	2596	2596	
II									2981	2981	2981	
III									1158	1158	1158	
IV									1206	1206	1206	
Total									9736	9736	9736	

continued

Area	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
North Carolina												
VI					100							
VII					450							
Total					6150	2350						
Virginia												
II Eastern												
Shore					3618	3618						
III Norfolk					1219	1219						
Total					4837	4837						
Maryland												
II Eastern												
Shore					2678	2678						
Delaware												
New Jersey												
I Middle Jersey					5744	5744						
II South Jersey					1243	1243						
Total					1243	6987	6987	5744				
New York												
I						2596	2596					
II						2981	2981					
III						1158	1158					
IV						1206	1206					
Total						9736	9736	9736				